NOTES TO CHAPTER V,

1. Mr. Lincoln's statement in his Address, quoted above, that the Union "was formed in fact, by the Articles of Association in 1774," is, curiously enough, almost identical with a statement of Mr. Stephens, the Vice-President of the Southern Confederacy, made in his elaborate work, *The War between the States* (vol. 1,, p. 19). Mr. Stephens says: " The first Union, so formed, from which the present Union arose, was that of the Colonies in 1774."

It is not to be supposed that either Mr. Lincoln or Mr. Stephens held that this action of the Colonies in 1774, which was two years before the Declaration of Independence, had, or could have had, any force or effect, while they remained colonies of Great Britain, except so far as their union was tolerated by the authority of Great Britain. The statement as to the union of the Colonies *in* 1774 is, however, important, and of very great importance, too, as showing that, in the judgment of two representative men, the communities which, prior to 1776, were colonies of Great Britain, and, after that date, called themselves States, were, as a matter of fact, at the moment they asserted their independence,

already united.
Or, to put the case in another way, what appeared
above the political horizon on the 4th of July, 1776,
was not thirteen separate communities, but thirteen